

1795
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Citizen NOVION's SERMON.



John Flax

THE
ALTAR OF BAAL
THROWN DOWN:
OR, THE
FRENCH NATION
DEFENDED,
AGAINST THE
PULPIT SLANDER
OF
DAVID OSGOOD, A. M.
PASTOR OF THE CHURCH IN MEDFORD.
A SERMON,

PAR CITOYEN DE NOVION. *K*

OSGOOD! "Stand forth, I dare thee to be tried,
"In that GREAT COURT where CONSCIENCE must preside."

BOSTON:
FROM THE *Chronicle-Press*, BY ADAMS & LARKIN.
M,DCC,XCV.

DAVID OSGOOD, A. M.
LECTOR IN THE
MEDICAL



NOV 2 1964

THE CITIZEN DE MONROVIA.

"In that great COURT where conscience must preside."
OSBORN: "Stand forth, I have thee to be tried."

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A S E R M O N.

JUDGES, VI. CHAPTER, 31st VERSE.

And Joash said unto all who stood against him, will ye plead for BAAL? Will ye save him? He that will plead for him, let him be put to death while it is yet morning: If he be a God let him plead for himself, because one hath cast down his Altar.

AMONGST all the vices and follies of mankind, there is nothing which marks the depravity of the human heart more strongly, than the uniform exertions which have been made, in all ages, by parties, to overthrow the sacred Altars of LIBERTY, and to place on their equitable foundations the Thrones of Despotism.

WHEN the Hebrews were led by the hand of God himself, from the most horrid and cruel state of slavery, into a land of plenty, and placed under a constitution of equal liberty, even there the pride and arrogance of a few were constantly leading the people aside from their own true interest, and exciting them to acts of rebellion against the hand which had supported and defended them. Finally he gratified their wishes, by giving them a King. This necessarily involved them, ultimately,

ultimately, in that dreadful ruin, from which they have no hope of redemption until their old theocracy, shall be restored in the character of the Messiah. God charged them with having rejected him, by insisting on a King : And his Prophet informed them, how such a Ruler would mar all the blessings which God had graciously placed them under ; how he would introduce scenes of corruption, luxury and dissipation—as is recorded in the first book of SAMUEL.

THERE are to be found in all countries, amongst all classes of men, and all orders in society, a number, who are enemies to the truth, as well as to the great interest of mankind. Among the Hebrews, some of the Priests, the holy Ministers of Religion, were enemies to the free government, under which the people were placed. The house of ELI, the High Priest and Ruler, ambitiously rebelled against God, and caused the people to commit idolatry.

In the days of JOASH, some of the Priests intoxicated with the glare and splendour of the neighbouring Monarchies, rebelled against God, who had prohibited that species of government amongst the Jews ; and in opposition to his holy commands, erected the *Altar of Baal*, with an intent to subvert that theocracy of government, which would not admit of coveted splendour and arrogance of high livings, and church dignitaries. But JOASH overthrew the Altar, and demanded of the Priests who stood by, if any of them would be so audacious as to plead for Baal. His reasoning on the subject was, that if Baal was worthy of advocates, he would exhibit the evidence of it, and could not then be streightned : If he was a God he would plead for himself.

BAAL, in the language of the ancient Hebrews, means the *conqueror*, or the *subduer* ; and the design
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in raising the Altar, was, to set him up in opposition to God himself, and to induce the Hebrews to believe that it was not the God of Abraham, who had conducted and supported them; but that it was **BAAL**, the great conqueror, who had driven out the nations of Canaan before them, and had given them their goodly inheritance.

HAVING thus briefly explained the text, I shall now apply it to the curious Sermon which you have handed to the public; and which has so much attracted, upon different considerations, the attention of the people.

You have undertaken to plead for Baal, and have the same respect paid to you which would in the days of **JOASH**, have been paid to one of the adventurous Priests of that idol. You have the applause of *some*; and the contempt of *many*.

THE word **BAAL** in scripture language, has the same idea annexed to it, as the word *Monarche* has in the French. Monarchy appears to be your idol; and in pleading for which, you have grossly insulted and abused our nation, which saved yours in a very generous and unexpected manner, from impending ruin.—America would not have been a nation; and your *Washington*, your *Jefferson*, your *Hancock*, and *Adams's*, would have now been numbered with traitors and felons, if it had not been for us: And the returns of gratitude which we receive from a Teacher in Religion, are slanders and calumnies.

In order to come more aptly at the French nation, you have mal-treated and misrepresented certain characters in your own; and this merely because they are friendly to us.

WHETHER the Proclamation which you made the introduction of your abuse to our nation was comprehensive

hensive enough for the occasion, or not, I will not undertake to determine: It is not the object of my present inquiry. But one thing which I take for granted, is, that the people of your Commonwealth are by no means confined in their expressions of gratitude to Heaven, by the proclamation of a Governor, or the directing voice of their Ministers. The proclamation may be conceived to have been adequate, because that other Clergymen found no difficulty in celebrating the divine mercies upon it: And several of them have published very pious and useful sermons on the occasion. In these we find no prostitution of their sacred functions, no wild abusive epithets, or incendiary and false suggestions. But the want of prudence and judgment, is strongly marked in every page of your ill-natured, morose, and indiscreet production. If your Sermon had been intended for good and beneficial purposes, you ought to have regarded truth and candour as the most suitable foundation for it. But you have condescended to gross misrepresentations, acrimonious expressions, and false and uncandid conclusions.

You say, page 25, speaking of the Governor's proclamation, "in which we *are directed* neither to give thanks for any advantages enjoyed by means of the General Government, nor even to ask the blessing of Heaven upon it." Now Sir, there is no such *direction* in the Proclamation. Were you as unacquainted with the force of language, as you are with the affairs of our nation, and with those of the world, we might suppose that you intended only to bring a charge of a negative quality against the Governor, intending only to say, that you were *not directed* either to give thanks, or to ask a blessing on that Government; that is, that nothing was said on the subject. But you have said, that "*we are directed neither to give thanks, &c.*"—that is, that the giving of thanks, and praying on that subject

subject, were forbidden by the proclamation. This assertion, however false and groundless it appears to be was rendered necessary to the ungenerous, and slanderous conclusion which immediately follows, "as though its destruction was already decreed, it is treated as no longer a subject of prayer."

THIS treatment of you will not appear to be severe, when the magnitude of your crime is fully seen, and the malignity of your heart fully exposed. Your words are very peculiar, in abusing a man who had been considered as a patriot, and has long possessed the confidence of the people of your country. "We suppose him to have fallen under the baneful influence of those societies:" Meaning, as you explain yourself, "a pernicious inveterate faction against the General Government." This is a high charge, Sir: It is a charge of high treason, and is brought against the whole of the Executive of the Commonwealth; for the practise has always been, for the Governor to submit his proclamations to the Council; and it was no doubt done in this instance—the charge of high treason, is then, more extensive perhaps than you were aware of. And what is your evidence?—That *they hazarded a proclamation, in which the General Government was not mentioned.* Is this mode of treatment consistent with the character of a Christian Minister? Would you wound, nay destroy the character of a Chief Magistrate without allowing him the privilege of a defence, or giving him time for an excuse or justification. The Governor has been a steady professor of the Christian Religion from his youth. He is your brother, *if you are a Christian.* And you could have called upon him to ease your mind, if you had been offended. Are you aware sir, that you have instituted the same mode of trial, without process or liberty of defence, which you condemn in the French nation? Or do you see the malignity of your own heart?

A MARGINAL note, which was no doubt written since *one* or *two* men have flattered you on your production, serves to heighten the charge against the Supreme Executive.

It was necessary, that you should thus lay aside the feelings of truth, and the obligations to honesty. The Altar of Baal cannot be erected on any other foundation than that of falshood: You were therefore under a necessity to fix one main pillar on this wicked and deceitful foundation.

If you wished to be a Minister of Peace, to heal divisions, and to promote love and friendship amongst your fellow-citizens, your language would have been the meek, peaceable and kind language of the religion you profess: But that language can never be used in the cause of Monarchy, but is peculiar to the cause of Liberty.

If you intended by your sermon, to reduce the refractory to obedience to the Laws, an acquaintance with the world would have shewn you, that abusive descriptions and provoking epithets, could have, in a free country, no tendency to effect it. If you intended to give strength to the General Government, or energy to the operations of your own nation, you were much out in your calculation, by proclaiming from the desk, that a great proportion of the people of this State, and even the First Magistrate, appointed by their free suffrages, were disaffected to it, and were in a plan to subvert it.

GOVERNMENT is but the public opinion, collected to a system, on certain general principles and rules. In your country, the people have by voluntary associations formed the mutual compacts; and by their free consent uphold and support their Governments. No
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one then but a mad man or a fool, will proclaim officially, that the Governments, or either of them, are in danger, from a disaffection in the people, or from a formed design in a number. A wise man would never sound the alarm on this score, unless matters had come to a crisis, which rendered the collection of force necessary : Even the insurgents in Pennsylvania will gather strength from the idea, that the Governor and Council in Massachusetts, are averse to, and intend to overthrow the Federal Government.

You could not expect to maintain the honor of the United States, by proclaiming to the world, in an affected air of solemnity, that there were so many wicked and abandoned men amongst their citizens, that it was yet questionable, whether their Governments can be supported by any other than a military force,

You could not expect to maintain the credit of your nation, by telling the world in a public occasional discourse, that though one rebellion was crushed, yet from present appearances, another, still more extensive, might be expected. As your Governments are all founded, in a peculiar manner, in the will of the people, and supported by their pleasure alone ; if they are thus disaffected, turbulent and uneasy, the other nations can place no confidence in their Governments. But the fact is clearly otherwise, and though a few men, chiefly English, Irish and Scotch people, of low education, have rebelled against the laws, yet the citizens of all your States, on the constitutional call of the President, have been ready to support the Government ; and as they have formed it, they love it, and will support it forever.

BUT sir, in order to plead for Baal, and to support his altar, it was necessary for you thus to abuse and misrepresent

misrepresent those of your countrymen who are sincerely engaged on the side of civil liberty : For unless you can destroy their influence with the people, you can never erect the Altar of Baal, in united America, or set up your idol called a *mixed monarchy* here.

I SHALL not extend this Discourse to an investigation, how far that clause in the Constitution of your own Republic, which provides expressly, that the people have a right, in an orderly and peaceable manner, to assemble to consult on the common good, &c." can authorise the meeting of political clubs or societies. This is a tender point : But I shall now proceed to remark on your most approbious treatment of the French nation.

In page 15, of your Sermon, you say, that "*the ferocious zeal, the desperate fury, of a mighty, though long-oppressed nation, have sat the world in flames.*" As your world is out of the fire, and as you are a neutral nation, what authority have you to concern yourself in our conduct towards other nations ? You have a right to your private opinions, but not to public official declamations on the subject.

You introduce this, very artfully, by connecting "the awakened jealousy of tyrants and despots, with the *ferocious zeal* of the French people. As a Christian Minister, you ought not only to regard the truth, but you ought carefully to guard against all scandalous misrepresentations ; and you ought to be careful that no injustice should be done by your pulpit discourses. Now, I demand of you, sir, how the *ferocious zeal* and desperate fury of the French nation, have sat the world in flames ?—Did they make war with any nation, before the armies of the combined despots of Europe, were marshalled against them, in order to compel

compel them to submit to such government as those powers should dictate? Had not the French people a right to repel this invasion? Have they not as fair a claim to form their own systems of Government as the Americans have?

You would agree to the French having this right, in common with the Americans, provided that we shall exercise it, by erecting the Altar of Baal, in the form of a *mixed monarchy* similar to that of your beloved Britain; for you observe, in page 23, "We all rejoiced at the downfall of despotism in that country. We considered it as the dawn of Liberty to the world; but how soon was the fair morning overcast? They had no sooner adopted a *popular form of Government*, than all the violence of faction broke out—A Constitution, which the collected wisdom of the nation had been two years in forming, was in a day or in an hour overfet and destroyed."

PASSING over in silence, the imprudence and indiscretion of such sentiments as uttered by a public preacher, in an allied and neutral country—respecting a mighty nation, which had preserved yours from destruction, I shall, by stating a short history of the transaction you allude to, shew the great depravity of your heart, or the great ignorance and weakness of your head.—The President and Supreme Executive of your nation, gladly, reciprocate acts of friendship and good will, by Ambassadors, duly appointed to reside near this terrible faction which you describe with so much horror. The legality of our French Government, is not called in question by your Congress; and your President by the voice of his Ambassador, presents our National Assembly with his most cordial friendship. Is he insincere? Or is he sincere, but yet mistaken?—Perhaps your Sermon will set him right. We are not amenable to you for our political conduct:
But

But I will return to the proposed business of describing the transaction which you allude to, but of the nature and history of which you are totally ignorant.

You acknowledge that our nation has long groaned under an oppressive Government. There are striking and melancholly instances to support this fact. The blood of the Protestants which was shed in the cruel reigns of *Lewis* the XIV and XV—the assassinations committed under the royal authority—the frequent executions upon the torturing *Rack*, without even the formality of a trial—the banishment of all who dared to whisper in the voice of freemen—and the groanings of forgotten thousands in the Bastille—are all forcible witnesses in favour of the only truth with respect to the French, which is to be found in your Sermon.

WHEN the late King ascended the throne, our miseries were very far from being alleviated. He had previously formed an alliance by marriage, with the House of Austria, and had taken to his throne the woman, who finally proved a curse to our nation, and a scandal to her own sex. To describe her enormities, would wound even your delicacy, and injure the appearance of language.

THE ancient domain lands and other crown estate, amounted to one fourth part of the kingdom. The revenues of exports and imports, and the produce of the soil were carried to the highest possible extreme.*

The national debt increasing, and the expense of the Royal Family amounted to twenty-three millions sterling money. The people were sunk to the abyss of poverty, and the *priests* were employed to keep them down,

* See Nacker's calculation.

down, that they might not assail the throne under which they had been so long crushed.

IN this situation, the late King held his miserable subjects, by force of a standing army ; forbidding the Parliament, through the whole of his arbitrary reign, to assemble, under the penalty of banishment. He was afraid, or rather his Ministers were afraid for him, that the Nobles and the Clergy, who composed his Parliament, in order to gain the aid of the people for their own purposes, might affect to contend for their rights.

IN the year 1789, the distress of the nation compelled him to revoke the arret of banishment, which had interdicted the meeting of the Parliament.

WHEN the Parliament assembled, being taught their lesson by the previous apprehensions of the Queen and Ministry, they alone embraced the opportunity to regain their ancient rights. The aid of the people was necessary to counterpoise the weight of the Court, and to oppose the *lettres de cachet*, and therefore the Noblesse acknowledged that the people had some rights.

THE Parliament on this plan instituted a National Convention. This was but a continuance of the old quarrel of the Kings and Nobles, which has existed co-equally with the feudal system of Europe.

THIS Convention formed the Constitution, which you mention, *as the mature and full-born wisdom of the nation* : But you are quite mistaken, as to this poor, imperfect, crippled and *anglo-francois* child's having been carried two years in the national womb : It was the illegitimate offspring of a day. The Convention, or National Assembly, opened their session on the 12th of June, and the Constitution was presented to the King
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on the 23d, as appears by the journal which is open before me.

THE King did not approve the Constitution ; but in his discourse or message of the 23d of June, informed the Assembly, in thirty-five articles, what his wishes were as to the exercise of Governmental powers.

IN the first article, he urges the preservation of the Nobility and Clergy, as separate Constitutional parts of the National Legislature ;—“ *Le Roi veut que l'ancienne distinction des trois ordres del estat soit conservee an sou entier, comme essentiellement liee à la Constitution de son Royaume : Que les députés librement élus par chacun destrois Ordres, formant trois Chambres, deliberant par ordre and pouvant avoir l'approbation du souverain, &c.*” That is, sir, in plain English—The King wills, that the Legislature should consist of three houses ; each house to be composed of deputies elected, the one by the Nobility, the other by the Clergy, and the other by the People. The distinction between the Nobility and the People, and between the Clergy and the People, were to be presented in their ancient forms and efficacies ; and no law was to be made by the people, but such as the Nobility and Clergy agreed to.

It did not require any great measure of sagacity, to foresee, that a House of Lords, holding their powers, as they did their estates, by accident of birth, and another of a Clergy, appointed by the Pope or Bishop of Rome, independent of the people ; and a King who was independent of the people by his natural right to the throne, would still keep them in slavery. The Representatives of the people were willing that those men who held dignities and titles, independent of, and adverse to the interest and rights of the people, should have a voice with them in the same House : But to agree

agree, that these bodies seperately should have a negative on all Legislative acts, would be placing themselves in the power of the Nobility and Clergy, in a manner more oppressive than they had before been. To give a sovereign a negative, upon all their acts, while he held by former laws, the navy and army, and a revenue, independent of the National Assembly to support them—while the Representatives of the People had no power or resources, would have been but a perfidious and cowardly betraying of the trust which the people had reposed in them.

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THIS controversy lasted from June, 1791, to the 13th of September, 1791, without any kind of Constitution in the nation. 91

In this interim, a number of the Noblesse and Clergy took their seats, as members of the National Assembly. A great number of them adopted this as a mode to embarrass and perplex the national measures.

The King, on the 13th of September, 1791, finding the Assembly supported by the people, and the combined armies did not advance as he expected, wrote them a letter, which now is open before me; wherein he informs them that he had attentively considered their act for a Constitution, and was content to give it his approbation. On the next day he signed his consent, and was solemnly sworn to support it. But nobody had any confidence in what he did or said; for it was known, that he as solemnly swore to the Queen and the Archbishop of *Paris*, immediately after, to subvert and overthrow a Constitution which his fears had compelled him to agree to accept; and which he had refused to agree to for the space of two years, under an expectation of foreign aid.

NOTWITHSTANDING this affected consent of the King to the Constitution, peace was not restored to the nation.

nation. The Queen's brother, the Emperor of Germany, and the others, whom you call tyrants and despots of Europe, considered the King as in duress, and were urging their armies into the heart of the kingdom, while city after city, was falling into their hands. The Constitution provided that the King's act should be necessary to the exercise of the legislative authority. This could not be had in order to form an opposition to the powers which were invading the nation, to restore the absolute Monarchy of the King. Thus situated, the National Assembly clearly saw, that a compleat Revolution was necessary, to the salvation of their own lives, and to that of the people's liberty: They therefore, on the 21st of Sept. 1792, abolished the Royal Government, and established a Republic. From that day, success has crowned their measures, and victory has attended the movements of their patriotic armies.

THE Constitution then, which you call the child of two years old, lived but one year only, and never was capable of force or motion, from its birth to its death. But the imperfect, monstrous infant is dear to you, bearing ten thousand beauties, because there were royal features on its forehead.

To this paltry system of mixed monarchy, *Fayette*, and other good men have sacrificed themselves; and have learned, by dear-bought experience, that he who attempts a reform in a despotic Government, is a fool; for a Revolution or nothing is to be effected.

WHY, sir, are the French people not intitled to the same natural and political rights as the Americans?— You have made your President, your Supreme Executive Officer, amenable for his conduct, and have a Constitutional tribunal to try him before. Your Constitution expressly provides, that there shall be no Or-

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der of Nobility in your nation—why should we be compelled to a Constitution which expressly renders that order of men necessary to it, and gives our lives and fortunes to their arbitrary controul?—You would not trust your first magistrate, whom you elect in every four years, with a negative on your laws; why should we be obliged to allow it to one who claims his office independent of the people, as a tail male estate?—This Constitution had like other creatures, the seeds of mortality floating in its veins. The Queen and Princes considered it as a palliative to check the rage of the people, until the Emperor of Germany and the Royalists could rally, at the standard erected at Coblentz, force sufficient to overthrow it.

THE King was always averse to the Constitution, and had always attempted to prevent its taking place. On the 7th day of July, 1789, he began to collect his army round the city of Versailles, where the Assembly were in session. Alarmed at this appearance, the National Assembly made their address to him on the subject. This remonstrance is in the 18th number of their journal, and that part which is necessary to be noticed here, is in these words:

“*QU’IL sera fait au Roi une tres humble adresse pour
 “ peindre a sa Majeste les vives alarmes, qu inspire a l’
 “ Assemblee Nationale de son Royaume, l’ abuse qu’ on s’ est
 “ permis depuis quelque temps du nom du un bon Roi pour
 “ fair aprocher de la capitale et de cette Ville de Versailles,
 “ un traine d’ artillerie, et de corps nombreux, de troupes,
 “ &c.*”

IN this remonstrance, they justly complain of their apprehensions that the troops were intended to overawe the Assembly, and to overthrow the compact or Constitution, which was then in process.

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THE Princes then fled to *Coblentz*; and the people were greatly alarmed at the preparation which had there been made by the Queen's brother, the Emperor of *Germany*, in order to restore the Monarchy of France to its former state of despotism. Under the irresistible strength of these impressions, the people assembled to urge the King to come to *Paris*; the guards and troops were ordered by his officers to fire on the people, but the army had obtained a taste for liberty in *America*, and would not become the murderers of their fellow-citizens: But the mercenary Swiss-guards obeyed the orders, and their temerity interred them in the same spot where they spilt the blood of the people of *Paris*, and where the body of *Louis* now lies.

A PARTICULAR detail here would far exceed the limits of a Sermon, and I shall therefore only say, that the Princes and Nobles who had not before gone off to the Emperor's standard, went away at this period: The King and Queen, as soon as they had an opportunity, attempted to follow, but were overtaken, and their fate is well known.

THE army raised by the combined powers of Europe, in order to deliver the King and Queen from a pretended captivity; and the parade and expectation which took place on this occasion, have never been equalled since the same powers, in the thirteenth century, were combined on a crusade to recover the possession of the holy sepulchre.

AN Assembly was held at the *Feuilles*, for the purpose of supporting a Constitution which the King had rendered insupportable. The combined armies were preparing to march to *Paris*. Halters, racks and gibbets were prepared for the patriots; and the priests demanded ample and bloody justice against the men who had cast "down the *Altars of Baal*." The nation

tion was to be subdued, and reduced again to a despotic Monarchy. No act of the National Assembly could provide for the national safety, because no act could be valid without the King's assent, or a dilatory process which would render it abortive. Had the combined armies been successful, even that act of the National Assembly, the forming of a Government which has given you so much rhapsody, would have been punished as an act of high-treason. The Bastille had been demolished, and blood had been shed by the Swiss guards: They had been killed, and in fact the wound had then become incurable. At this crisis, a regard to personal safety had its full effect on the side of the patriots.

Those who found it necessary to begin anew, and to attempt a compleat Revolution, withdrew from the divided and indecisive National Assembly, to consult measures for their own, and for the public safety. This I take from the journals of their proceedings which are now before me. The place where they found it convenient to assemble as a deliberative body was a *Convent*, forsaken by a party of refugees, called the *Jacobin* Friars. From their meeting there, they were called the *Jacobins*: But it was their system, not their house, which rendered them so odious in the eye of European despots, and in that of some *Anglo-American* politicians.

You charge our nation with having been guilty of great excesses; and many of your people consider the Jacobins as having been the authors of much bloodshed and misery. But pray learned Sir, what do you mean by excesses? Excess is the carrying the means beyond what is necessary to obtain the end; but have we yet obtained our end? and do you know enough of the French affairs and French parties, to say that we have done more than was necessary to accomplish our object? The object we have in view stirs your
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wrath; it endangers the temple of *Baal* in Europe, and destroys your hopes, and the hopes of your friends for a Monarchy in *America*.

SUPPOSE that we had shed more blood than was necessary, and more in comparison with our numbers, and according to our situation, than you did in your Revolution. Why should you declaim against us in rude language from your pulpit? We are independent of you—we are not of your parish, nor under your charge—nor have we submitted ourselves to your tribunal. Though the idea was not, nor ought it to be in your Governor's proclamation, yet you might have given thanks that your nation had not been under the severe necessity, in her Revolution, to shed so much blood as ours had. This you might have done without censuring us, or undertaking to decide on our *ferocious zeal* or *desperate fury*, or lamenting that a *popular government* had *overcast our very fair morning*. This might have been pleasing to Heaven, but not to the party which has duped you out of your reputation and usefulness.

BUT I will now compare the conduct of those men whom you so loudly condemn, with that of your own countrymen in similar circumstances; and your language with what was used against them in the time of your Revolution.

You say, page 23, "they had no sooner adopted a popular form of government, than all the violence of faction broke out." Pray sir, what do you mean by faction? What you represent as a faction, was an assembly of men, who, when they found all other hopes of saving their liberties frustrated—when they saw the combined armies, under orders arrogantly given to march to *Paris*, to raise the *Altar of Baal*, and to save him—pledged their lives and fortunes for their country's safety—They were called the *Mountaine*, which
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by a figure in our language, means the immovable force of the people. There have been measures taken by an Assembly at the Convent, since the new democratic National Assembly has been formed, which I will not undertake to justify; but they ought not to be condemned, more especially by those who have nothing to do with them; until they have been heard: Some enormities have happened with you, when your Government was tender; such as stopping your Courts, and opposing your laws, &c. which perhaps were originated by men who wished to subvert the means of your independence: For the most speedy way to destroy liberty is to render it licentious. We have reason to believe that a great deal has been done against us in urging extreme measures, by the gold of Mr. PITT: The other powers have none. Now, good sir, what is there more in this, than there was in your proceedings in America? You had your Provincial Congress in 1774, and chose HANCOCK your President;—you had your town-meetings—your Committees of Safety, Inspection and Correspondence—your County and Provincial Conventions; and finally, your General Congress—in which the people pledged themselves, one to another, to support with their lives and fortunes, the liberty of their country. The people of France have assembled in their boroughs and cities, and in the Jacobin convent for the same purpose. Your Governors, then holding commissions under the Crown, called all these meetings *factions*. An act of Parliament forbid your town meetings, and the Proclamations of the Governors charged these meetings with sedition, and called even the addresses of your general assemblies legally holden, the echo of the *faction*.

Do you not see a similarity in the proceedings of France and America, which is not equalled, excepting in the language of your Sermon, with that of the American *anti-revolutionists* of 1775.

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WE in humble imitation of your dear friends the English, brought our King to a public execution. This you will say we had no legal authority for. But what authority had your Washington, to take the life of Major Andre, the favourite of the English King; Washington, whose wisdom and patriotism the world admires, and all his forces, were then called *Rebels in arms against the best of Sovereigns*. What authority had your conventions to raise armies, levy taxes, confiscate estates, and pass acts of banishment! You took the lives of some, under an idea of punishing crimes, which existed only in your laws, and which were rewardable virtues with your king. Your Independence was not then acknowledged; and for these transactions, had you failed of success, the necks of your Congress-men would have been brought to the block and sacrificed on the Altar of BAAL.

YOUR answer to all these questions will be, that the Mountain of America stood strong, and that the people being united, they succeeded beyond all calculation. We Sh^t, shall succeed, and shall establish our Liberties, and again give aid in saving those of United America from foreign despotism. Then the time will come, when there shall be none to plead for BAAL, or worship at his Altar.

OUR *ferocious zeal* gives you pain perhaps, on the score of religion. You used to pray for the downfall of the *Whore of Babylon*: We have pulled her down; and you scandalize us for the deed. You grieve that some of us have forsaken the christian religion. We never had it, unless you agree that the Romish Church holds it. We allow all men to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences; do not your constitutions do the same? Some of us affect to believe, that there is no future state of rewards and punishments. This you may consider as leading to crimes, immoralities and assassinations! But
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In your country, you have churches which hold, that all men are to be saved, however enormous their crimes may be; now if a man would sin because he believes that there is no future state, we might suppose that one would be vastly more wicked, who believed that there is a future state, in which he shall be happy let his crimes and enormities be what they may. This Church of yours has addressed your President on his elevation, and has been acknowledged by him in a very polite and cordial answer. But these objections are all in theory; and our citizens in the temple of reason may be good, if they are sincere; and your Universalists are honest men and good citizens.

To carry your *ferocious zeal and desperate fury* against our nation to its highest pitch, you vainly attempt to scandalize *Republicanism* itself. Wisely considering that your prompters, who are for a mixed monarchy, can never obtain one, until Republican principles are out of taste in *America*.

In page 23, you say, "that previous to the Revolution, it was said of the French, that so refined was their sensibility; so abhorrent of every appearance of cruelty, that they would not suffer Tragedy to be acted at their Theatres." And then you ask with an affected air of surprise, "is it not astonishing how so great a change in morals and in manners of so great a nation, could be so suddenly effected;" you then answer the question which you had insidiously stated without foundation—that "*faction alone accounts for it.*"

HERE you reason like a faithful priest of Baal, and your ingenuity would do honor to one of the order of the Jesuits which have long been expelled from France. Is it possible that you could be brought to believe, that the refinement in sentiment of a nation, and their taste for amusement would be altered in a year, by a political faction? But you have done this cunningly; to paint the reign of Monarchy with all possible

mildness and gentleness, as the golden age of our nation ; and then drawing the horrid contrast, shew us, changed in the twinkling of an eye, under a *popular government*, into a state of “*ferocious zeal* and desperate fury.” As a people whose extravagant wildness and bloody despotism, have set the world in flames.

HERE sir, you are again mistaken in your facts : Tragedies have always been acted at the Theatres in *France*. Our practice has always been, to have a Tragedy first, and then to conclude the evening with a Comedy. Until long before, and ever since the Revolution, the Tragedies of *Olimpie* ; *le Triumvirat* ; *les Scythes* ; *Oreste* ; *Rome Sauvee, ou Catilina* ; *le Orphelin de la Chine* ; *Tancrede* ; *les Lois de Minos* ; *Don Pedre* ; *les Pelopides, ou Atree et Theistee* ; *Zaire* ; *Adelaide du Guesclin* ; and many others, had a great run at all the Theatres.

OUR refinements in sensibility, could never arise from our being strangers to tragic scenes, under a Monarchy. We had the solemn realities constantly before our eyes. The groanings of the Bastile and other prisons, were near us. The Rack was as much employed, almost, as the Guillotine has been. Men were dragged from their families daily, and broken alive on the wheel, without even the form of a trial ; and their orphans and widows dared not to inquire for the fate of a father or a husband, or bestow one tear on their catastrophe, lest they should mix their blood with its kindred gore, on the *wheel of torture*. This was the golden age which you admire—this was the time when the religion of Baal flourished—when his altars stood strong, surrounded with priests who were in love with *Monarchies*, and who delighted in the miseries of human kind. There was the place, and that the time when your Sermon would have gained a great *eclat*.

WHEN

WHEN the guillotine was invented, it was considered as an acquisition to humanity ; because it might in death, relieve the tortures of those citizens who were offered daily by *royal authority*, on the Altar of Baal.

You calmly pass over the bloody scenes, and excessive cruelties, which urged the people of France to a revolution. You pass, with great composure and *sans froid*, or rather with exulting pleasure, over the millions slain in defence of liberty, and the rights of mankind, in order to reach the foot of the guillotine, that you may mingle your tears with those of *royalty*. But you have not one tear for a suffering Nation.—The widows, the fatherless, multiplied into millions by the swords of despots, have no interest in your heart. This is not according to the precepts, and examples of the divine Author of the religion you profess to teach.

WHILE you are thus feasting your imagination with scenes of blood ; why will you not cast a reflecting eye on your beloved Briton, and measure the blood spilt in the years 1665, 1678, 1715, and 1745, with that which has flowed in France on the present occasion ?

You conclude your discourse with a quotation from a writer, who is against our revolution.

THAT writer pleads for an equal representation and equal right in all the people, to elect and to be elected ; and for an indemnity of political sentiments in debates. This would at once, in our country, restore us to monarchy, and build up the Altar of Baal : There would be many to plead for him in that case. But this is a measure, however suitable it may be in a settled state of government, yet it is inadmissible in the progress of a revolution. When the fountains of the great deep are broken up, there will be a chaos before

fore the elements are again separated. Here we have an example of America in this, as well as in other instances. Where are the men who suffered on your stages?—in your carts?—in your jails, and under your tar and feathers? Where are those whom your General Courts expressly banished, without even the formality of a trial, merely for the freedom of sentiment? Where are the estates which you have confiscated, because the proprietors did not change their allegiance with what was then deemed your faction? These measures were necessary with you, and our's, are no less so to us.

NOT contented to hate us yourself, you charge upon us all the misfortunes which your States have lately suffered. This you do to excite the hatred of others.

You say, after describing in a romantic manner, the high prosperity and great felicity of the United States; “In this prosperous situation of our affairs, a *foreign incendiary* appeared among us. The object of whose mission was to draw us in for a share of the war of Europe. By fair negotiation, with the government he had no hope of success. It was necessary therefore, that the government should be overthrown.”

THIS *foreign incendiary* was an Ambassador from an authorized executive of France, or the President of your country could never have received him, and issued his exequator. GENET is not chargeable with a crime, because he wished America to take a share with his country in the existing war. Your nation was, and has been prudent enough to keep out of it; but it does not follow from thence, that the French nation were wrong in attempting to obtain your assistance. Were FRANKLIN and DEAN, in France in the year 1778, *foreign incendiaries* because they applied

plied for the aid of France, in your war with England? What would have been said, even in your then infantile and feeble state, if the Bishops and Priests in France, had treated them from their churches and chaples, in the language in which you speak of our minister? But you will say that your ministers conducted with propriety, and applied directly to the Court. It is true that those were prudent wise men, and that GENET happened to be an imprudent and rash man; but it is as true that FRANKLIN and DEAN, long before the Court of *Versailles* took any notice of them, persuaded the people of France, that if your Independence should be supported, we should have all your trade, and derive great benefit from it. The letters of *Franklin*, and *Dean* to your Congress, declare the war, which France finally undertook at your request, to be a popular war with our nation, and say that the Court was urged into it by the people. If gratitude is a Christian virtue, you will blush under a consciousness that you have none.

By a mode of reasoning quite peculiar to yourself, you conclude, that omitting to say, what would be proper to say on an occasion, is evidence of badness of heart. This is not like that Christian charity "which hopeth all things."

WHILE you stigmatise the Republicans of *France*, as men of *ferocious zeal* and *desperate fury*, you do not mention one of their virtues. You do not exhort your people to give thanks that we have been enabled so marvellously to succeed in the cause of liberty and humanity. You do not mention the wisdom and prudence of a *faction*, which has raised, paid and supported, in the field, for several years, more than one million of men for the defence of the rights of mankind.

You do not mention the valour, the firmness, and the virtues of those armies; which, excepting in one instance, out of complaisance to your ARNOLD, can
neither

neither be beaten or bribed. You do not inform your people, that the arts are protected and encouraged in *France*—that the sciences are extending—that agriculture is at a higher pitch than ever—that private property is secure, and the people more happy there now, than they ever were before. These facts are to your prompters, like rottenness to the bones of a man; and no cause of gratitude to you.

I SHALL now leave you sir, with only advising you never again to step out of your line to gratify a party; that whenever you ascend the sacred desk, you shall have your mind deeply impressed with a sense of your solemn obligation to truth and candour, and that laying aside a spirit of malice and envy, you shall feel the same tenderness for the reputation of others, which you wish them to possess towards yours.

THERE have always been in every age of *America*, amongst the Clergy, a great number who could place a just estimate on civil and religious liberty; and there never was a time when there were not some who wished to place the Altar of the LORD, at the foot of the throne of Tyranny; and who would offer their adoration to vice and folly, when they found these in the glittering robes of wealth, or in the splendid garb of power. But the Altar of Liberty will stand, and will forever be supported: Truth is its foundation, and the gates of hell shall never finally prevail against it.

THE Priests of Baal may lay their Bulls on his Altar; they may prepare the wood, and may leap on the Altar, and cut themselves with knives, and may call on their God from morning until evening, but no fire will descend; yet when the Priests, according to the sacred order of Liberty, shall supplicate the divine favour and interposition, the fire will descend, and the people shall see it, and shall fall on their faces and say,

Great

A S E R M O N.

31

Great and precious are the equal natural rights of mankind—these are the source of all security and happiness, when properly regulated for civil purposes ; they are the gift of God, and he will defend them forever.

A M E N.



IN the great hurry in which the preceding Sheets were struck off, a few trifling *typographical* errors in the French sentences escaped the observation of the Printers, which if the Reader discovers he will please to correct.

A SERMON

Great and precious are the counsel and wisdom of God—these are the source of all security and happiness—these are the gifts of God, and he will defend them forever.

A M E N



IN THE GREAT HALL OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, ON WEDNESDAY, THE 23RD OF APRIL, 1668.

